National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Selections.

THE ABINGTON CELEBRATION.

AUGUST 1st, 1860.

Phonographic report by J. M. W. YERRINTON.

Speech of E. H. Heywood,

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I think these letters [the letters from Messrs. Sumner, Adams, Andrew and Garrison, read by Mr. Heywood, and published last week] will answer for me. Certainly, they discuss the various issues involved in the question that convenes us, with a beauty, force and eloquence which is the admiration and despair of all us youngsters. Indeed, my hands are so full of the business affairs of this meeting, that I hardly feel like talking to you at all.

In the very just and admirable criticisms upon the American view of British Emancipation, Mr. Adams and Mr. Sumner seem to have spoken to the politics and religion of this country—the key-note to American life, as you read off its harmonious discords and its discordant harmonies in the sects and parties about you. As Carlyle said of Englishmen, Poverty is the only hell in which Americans believe. As for me, I would object to the theological hell for the cost of brimstone (laughter). Americans do not believe in man, but in money: not in liberty, but in license. They have no faith in myself, public, freedom, or God; but in railroads, stocks, traditions, parchments, majorities. Any rascality is right, if it will pay. The idea which underlies the American Church and State is, that it is right to enslave men in behalf of liberty, to do evil that good may come, and to make them like ice. Truth and justice are valued as guano to raise corn and cotton. The Deity is thought a respectable person if he wears broadcloth, patent-leather boots, and can drive a sharp bargain; otherwise, not of much account.

In contrast with this heathenish, golden-calf treachery to the law of God and the rights of man, the royal bounty of England's example and speech of the British Emancipation were a noble response to justice and liberty, as personified in a proscribed race—one fact, at least, contravening Bentham's maxim, that "the ruling class never give up a usurped privilege, until they have worn it out of use." The only opposition was Parliament, the Court and the Crown in royal livery, descending to the highways and hedges of English life, to recast its pariahs and outcasts. I was the coronation of order, the consecration of a negro as society, to civilization, to equality in the eye of the law as in the sight of God. In a word, the whole object of the anti-slavery struggle in Great Britain, from 1783, when, in that little room in London, the first anti-slavery society was assembled a half-dozen Quakers "to consider what step they should take for the relief and liberation of the negro slaves of the West Indies, and for the discouragement of the slave trade on the coast of Africa," to the immortal day when the last shackle fell, amidst the hosannas of the redeemed and the repentant and redeeming nation—a period illustrious with examples of eloquence, wisdom and self-sacrifice, but not without blots in the legislature or religion; a period when, like the Honerie deities, descending from Mount Ida to rescue, in the agony of fate, some stricken hero in the carnage of Troy, Britain's statesmen, philosophers, poets and philanthropists became the imperial guard of a despised humanity—through a half century of prayers, tears, wrestlings, agonies, exaltations and immortal triumphs, the aim of the anti-slavery enterprise was simply to show fair play to black men.

This is the lesson which a free Monarchy, from its throne of justice and mercy, reads to a slaveholding, haughty, strutting Republic to-day. Let us heed it, let us apply it; for these hours are too sacred to spend in mere eulogy of those who, having "fought the good fight," are now beyond and above the reach of human praise. We are not here to walk in the green graves of turf and boulder which mark the sites of their achievement, not here to be entranced with the elysian music of lluds won and sung, not here to recite history, but to *make* it. This event says, "identify yourselves with the oppressed race; be willing to be unpopular"—a remark that no one can paint a tree without in some sense becoming a tree. So no one can be an Abolitionist without putting his soul in the slave's soul's stead. When Macaulay was in conversation with Mr. Stowe, ridiculing the representation of the greatest of English dramatists—the creation of the world's writers—he asked which of Shakspeare's characters she liked best. "Desdemona," she replied. "Of course, you would be; she is the only one who has a black man" (laughter). Long ago he had described English giants for human rights, he had not conceived the heroism in human form sufficient, when not *of* the enslaved race, to lift up the standard of moral rebellion against seventeen million oppressors. Such a man is simply, in ours, entitled to be called an Abolitionist, a patriot, or a Christian, until he is honored with the reputation of wanting to marry into a black family (laughter). I hope we all shall learn the lesson of to-day—we all so to treat the black man.

But, to return to the train of thought upon which Mr. Adams's and Mr. Sumner's letters furnish me a passage: as a nation, we have no regard for human rights, for human dignity, for human life; we only believe that man belongs to the human race. If one speaks of love to man, you don't know whether an ounce a Doctor of Divinity or a Republican Senator selling him upon the auction block, or a Fejee missionary roasting him for his dinner. Like the Yankee who, in Italy, stopped a religious procession to light his cigar at one of the holy candles (laughter), an American instinctively seeks to desecrate every scene of philanthropic purpose or of hazardous benevolence, to selfish purposes: to divert it into a political or ecclesiastical channel to turn a sectarian or partisan mill. Our civilization is a conspiracy against justice, speaking from black lips. I am not quoting the Bible, but the whole history of the world, when I say that all men who are on the side of the oppressor will be on the side of God. But who are those who wince under the arrows of the abolition quiver—your Bankses, your Wilsons, and your Sewards? The very men who have been the willing sunbeams of political favor on their denunciation of Webster, and who now have the impudence, to say nothing of its base wickedness, to offer a statue to the unfortunate statesman whom, to save themselves, they slandered with every foul language to malign. And when they, with better pretensions, proceed to observe and enforce the same immoral and wicked compromises with tyrants that consigned Hungary and Poland to the tender mercies of the Austrian, the Abolitionist—the Abolitionist, the co-worker with God and the laws of nature—the Abolitionist, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, who knows no variableness nor shadow of turning—the Abolitionist, who can no more consent with slavery than good with evil, than light with darkness, than Christ with Belial—what can he do but strip off this garb of hypocrisy, and say to the world, "Behold Despotism in the garb of Freedom!"

His crime is in judging men by their better selves, in "appealing from Philip drunk to Philip sober." Here to think of Mr. Seward standing on Plymouth Rock, when, from the mount of historic vision, in the clear blue of absolute truth, he exclaimed, "All compromises are far more dangerous to liberty than open usurpations"; of Seward, the lofty statesman, the progressive statesman, of Seward, the Presidential aspirant, pledging himself to abide by all the horrible compromises of this slaveholding government. Why, the footsteps of Edward Everett have been dogged, for thirty years, by the derisive scorn and pitying contempt of the North, and his name has become a byword and hissing in every free heart, because he agreed to shoulder his musket and buckle on his knapsack to march to defend slaves. And who was it that came to Seward in the Senate, swearing by the Republican party to "crush out," with the *whole power of the Government*, the same treasonable uprising of the human soul against oppression that has marked the history of Washington and Lafayette in history, we are ashamed here to-day of "severity." Nevertheless, our disapprobation of the huckstering politicism will be the measure of our admiration of the statesmanlike and philosophic leadership of Seward, when, in the future, the world shall remember with gratitude Mr. Andrew's brave and able advocacy of this cause in the Courts and the Legislature; the eminent service he rendered in stopping off the judicial hand of Judge Loring (applause), when he entered the arena of debate against Caleb Cushing, and taught that great sinner that there is a God in Israel, and that William Lloyd Garrison is his prophet (great cheering)—but this letter reminds me of a little contest with pen-knives. I should state here. At the first John Brown meeting in Tremont Temple, last year, the gentleman whose every free heart in Boston was glad to see in the chair on that memorable and historic occasion, said, "Whether the enterprise of John Brown and his associates in Virginia is wise or foolish, right or wrong, I cannot now stop to inquire; but one thing I know, that John Brown is himself right." (Loud laughter.) You must remember how grandly that "Apollo in speckles" looked when he said it (applause). Well, the newspapers say that this same gentleman, at Chicago and in Faneuil Hall, has bestowed unmeasured condemnation and eulogy upon a political platform that denounces John Brown as the "gravest of criminals" and upon the Presidential candidate standing thereon, who begot a Fugitive Slave bill whose unprovoked and unprincipled atrocity the Southern Congress was not heartless enough to copy, and who, if not the open defender, is at least the persistent apologist of slavery in the District of Columbia, of the internal slave trade, of kidnapping by law in the free States. Now, whatever associations of "severity" may be filed against me, I cannot *help* loving the man who, without stint of money or time, strives to save—men who intend to reach the system and slay the Constitution, and within it all of his sex—receives his widowed and orphaned family to his manly heart, and turning with sadness and disgust from the political trickster, Lovejoy, pledged to consign to the halter all who in future shall imitate his sublime virtue and unexampled heroism (loud applause).

I have already detested too far into this meeting, but I wish to call attention to one or two other points in this remarkable letter, without, however, enlarging upon them. It says the proscribed whites of the South have a keener sense of their wrongs than the blacks. Why, in an almost infinite degree—with the laws on their side, why don't they rally to the standard of a Helper, a Hedrick, or an Underwood, and squelch that vile brood of tyrants? The blacks have been sensitive to the appeals of freedom, and induced those forty thousand fugitives in Canada to run a gauntlet of bloodhounds, bowie-knives and revolvers, braving every peril by flood and field and Slidell-Mason law, to reach a country where they have perished in this perilous "middle passage," or are returning to the house of bondage to rescue their relatives and friends, while the heartless, stultified whites, North and South, have no eyes to behold a fugitive, no ears to hear a spectacle so appalling and to men? Why, there is more free blood in the little finger of a Margaret Garner or a Harriet Tubman, than could be wrung from the watery veins of all the opponents of oppression in the land (applause).

The author of this letter also adds, that his "loyalty to the institution of government has been, is, and always will remain, unshaken"—the government of which John Quincy Adams said "our fathers framed a compact and approbation of slavery is the vital and animating spirit;" and, as a corollary, added, "Justice and liberty, no matter what becomes of the Constitution and the Union"—a sentiment upon which I shall not comment, but leave it to resolve into the future than upon any other he ever uttered. But this refusal to break with organized despotism is only the old doctrine of putting new wine into old bottles—of "not biting the bullet" (laughter), of "one foot on sea and another put under it (laughter); of the Greek in his tub, swearing by Jupiter he'll lift himself by the ears (laughter). I do not believe in it. Some little boys in Boston, the other day, playing round the church, said to his fellows, "I can jump higher than that church." "Let us see you." It had a very high steeple—almost as tall as some trees out West, which takes two men and a boy to see the top of (laughter). "I'll jump over it." So the little fellow planted *some* six inches from the ground, exclaiming, "I did." "Did, eh?" "Yes; for the church did not jump at all" (great laughter). So of the government—it is nailed to the mast-head with a cross-tree at all. Mr. Andrew must go higher, if he ever reaches the shackles of the slave. And let us make an issue here at home. They say the people will make Mr. Lincoln Governor, and by a large majority. We would seem good to be a decent Governor once (applause). And when he is inaugurated—God speed the moment! we have a right to ask that he will immortalize his administration by the utter and eternal prohibition of slave-hunting on our soil (loud applause). But whether he is or not, we must address ourselves to that petition with redoubled energy again this year. Copies will be sent over the Bay State, and every town that can be wiped out of the Bay State. It is not fit that the sons of Plymouth Rock and Bunker Hill should bear the shame longer. In Whittier's nervous, fiery verse—the poetry of chain lightning—

"Let us say that Massachusetts is herself once more!
We hunt their bondmen flying from slavery's baleful hell!
our voices at their bidding take up the bloodhound's yell!
Is it Gallic cant, or Saxon mockery, which deems us free
From Freedom's holy altar-horns to tear their wretched slaves?
No slave-hunt in our borders, no pirate on our strand;
No fetters in the Bay State, no slave upon our land."

And we must go further. This day lifts us above Slave-worship and Union-worship to universal humanity. We must make freedom national and world-wide. No man has a right to wear upon his brow the sacred word "Liberty," who does not ground the right and duty of revolting against oppression in the higher law of God; from no other than existing blood-stained compacts; who does not declare to the world that, under God, there is no master, no slave, no sex, no tribe, no nation, but, in Mazzini's noble maxim, "God has humanity for his country, and all men for brothers." It is said, a note sounded among the Alps echoes from peak to peak, and still re-echoes on forever. So one heart-beat like that we have felt from the free hills of New Hampshire, that thrilled from the universal humanity. Mathematicians will tell you that a pebble, dropped in yonder lakelet, pulses the waters on the coast of Japan; so, as Lowell hymns it—

"When a deed is done for Freedom, through the broad Earth's aching breast
Runs a thrill of joy prophetic trembling on from east to west,
And the slave, where'er he cowers, feels the soul within
him climb
To the verge of manhood, as the energy sublime
Of a century, bursts, full-blossomed, on the thorny stem of time" (loud applause).

Mr. Heywood concluded his address, the PRESIDENT (Mr. Swasey) said: It is a singular fact that, from the period when the mind of man threw off the shackles of superstition, the Roman intellect has found such vast sources of interest in the study of the past. All the material resources of nature, in ploughing its pathless way across the ocean, in peopling continents, in building up mighty empires, that at length the intellect has become developed, and the heart, the affections, to the moral instincts, and the higher and more sublime teachings which belong to our religious sentiments: so that to-day we stand amongst a people who, of all men, boast of their reason, of their intellect, of their material means, of their ability to build up great empires and extend themselves over continents, with new forms of government. In other words, we stand amongst a people who, to-day, have declined God, have overturned the moral Governor, and set up their own work, and declared, *Vox populi, vox Dei*. Yes; the popular will is our Pope, and according to the general idea, there is no God higher than the popular will, Behold Despotism in the garb of Freedom! world, Behold Despotism in the garb of Freedom!

Loud applause.

Our Pope took his seat in the Council Chamber, and thank God! we have our Luthers, our Melanchons, our Zwingles, our Calvins to dash that Pope into the dust. One of these reformers, who is sufficient for the occasion, who could stand amid the darkness of Washington, and, like one of these trees, from the dirt around him, grow straight up into the sunlight, to catch the inspiration of God and stand erect as these trees—such an one we have with us to-day, and he is now about to address you, one who could stand there, almost alone, and denounce and arraign this great crime of slavery, supported only by his consciousness of right and duty. Well may he be classed among the Reformers of the Fathers of '76 and '87. I call upon Rev. Mr. Conway, formerly of Washington, but now of Cincinnati.

Speech of Rev. M. D. Conway.

The event which gives this day its lustre is such as one as we begin life by expecting on every hand: but alas! as we get older, learn to celebrate as unusual and startling. The books of the realm of Fairie, the legend of the Mystic Land of History, train in us an ideal which would not be surprised to find on every highway a Dragon, in every rider a Prince George, on every rock an auburn-haired Una, in every fountain a Fons. We haven't the old fogies who have their bolts and bars on the press, as elsewhere, prohibited these formidable children's books which hunt the nobility of the banks of the Delaware, in Walpack.

rescuing the oppressed, of buckling on armor to confront oppressors? Can the doctrine of heroism be fably taught? I no longer more fold the other day, the fine old story of the Sleeping Beauty in the Enchanted Palace. There she lay, with the terrible spell upon her; she stirred not, dreamed not; and the knights who were also locked in the parlaces of the her adherents were also locked in the parlaces of the spell upon her; she stirred not, dreamed not; and spell well. But after many had tried vainly to penetrate the thick hedges about her palace, one prince, nobler than the rest, succeeds. He enters, unchains the spell with a kiss, restores her sceptre, and the fair queen wakes with voices of joy. Is this not a vision shown on the holy mount of childhood; and are not history and life glorious as they conform to that pattern? There lay the Sleeping Beauty, India, under the baneful spell of slavery; there she was England, and so princely as when her warm human kiss broke the spell which bound 800,000 immortal souls! This what Garibaldi is trying to do for slumbering Sicily and Italy. This is what John Brown tried to do for Virginia," who, more promptly than the most of the favored ones, sent back a characteristic subscription. Or, what is more probable, and more in accordance with Southern post office arrangements, the postmaster may have done the job and relieved the minister of the responsibility. At any rate, Mr. Sewall has received the contribution, and kindly transmitted it to me, so that we can, if we please, add it to Methodism.

Mr. Garibaldi's sympathy meeting, the other evening. I was not only interested but pleased. The speakers were generally conservatives and Americans, but magnificent radicals about Italy. My friends and I were not among those.

question, who are those martyrs and heroes in the dungeons and on the scaffolds of the Pope and the King of Naples? They are the John Browns of Italy; they are Garibaldi and his followers are traitors and rebels to their own government. Sicily is their Harper's Ferry. The praise bestowed on them, and the imprecations of Pius, Bomba & Co., sounded exactly like every thing of the sort in the Methodist Church, one who was exceedingly High Church, and who, in an almost infinite degree, was in the habit of falling into the old formula: "O Lord, we beseech thee to save us from the pernicious principles and perilous practices of the—the—I look at the Bishop)—Hottentots" (laughter). I hope our meeting will be different, and that we will only go abroad in our sympathies, whether to Italinn or Hottentot, to return with all that we have witnessed there transmuted into light and glow, for our own, our American task.

My friends, that task we stand here about now, before this task? Many good friends of the slave will at once point to the Republican party, and rejoice in the prospect of success which it undoubtedly has at present. This from the same party in the days of Pierce and James Buchanan; before their time it was not an organized party. I know that this claim has been disputed by some of the Abolitionists, who say that Garrison and Phillips are the pioneers of the present party. I think otherwise. The crimes which the Democratic party has perpetrated within the last eight years; its outrages upon all good faith, upon even rudimentary justice; and, lately, its violation even of that kind of honor supposed to exist among thieves, these have given the American people a fluid glimpse of slavery's abyss; the Republican party is their instinctive recoil. For a while, we expected much of this party; but lately it has shown such a paralytic sign—a bad sign—one that is the unmistakable indication of advancing decay. *It is corrupting its best men.* This is always a terrible sign. Why, what is the chief evil that slavery has done to this country? Is it not that it has cruelly free-soilism? No weapon formed against it shall prosper. We have seen that freedom had never made such immense strides as under the two Administrations hostile to her. What, then, is the evil? It is, that it rots great and noble hearts to the core. It is, that all the statesmen of the West, Webster, and Everett, and Winthrop is dragged behind its chariot. Now, observe this terrible tendency in the Republican party. We all know that the cause of justice, the cause of God, and the cause of humanity is having wrung from the tongue on which the words "irrepressible conflict" and "higher law" had once burned as live coals from God's altar, the falsehood that John Brown was a fanatic. Also the falsehood that Seward was the noblest man in the Senate; long time the conserver of a pure statesmanship; with a great brow, and a thought true as steel sheathed in it. Lost thus! Oh, that I could weep, rather, over its grave to some tune as sad as Chopin's, at his scaffold in Virginia. And he is not the only one who has been tainted by that party. Who can feel that the brave old socialist and outright warrior for freedom, Horace Greeley, is none as he once was? Who can feel that Governor Andrew will not. Only a wise man will see this sign, and take care that he doesn't go next. Two old rats swam away from a ship, at sea, whose provisions were rather short; and, as they swam away, the first said to the other: "Do you know what I think? I think the ship will have some material for at least making a guess upon the subject.

We have there a list of eighty-three American vessels which have been taken while engaged in the slave trade during the last eighteen months. Add to these some half dozen that have gone through the Sound, whose names could not be ascertained; some twenty more detained under suspicion; then calculate how many more must have escaped and be prosecuting their nefarious traffic successfully, in order to render the business sufficiently profitable to survive such losses, and then the reader will have some conception of the nature and power of the slave trade. Within the last year and a half, has been brought about. If our readers will turn to the next page and read the article entitled "The Present Phase of American Commerce," they will have some material for at least making a guess upon the subject.

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AN INSCRIPTION FOR THE MONUMENT OF PRESIDENT BUCHANAN.

From The Evening Post.

In our comments elsewhere upon the scarcity of shipping at this port, and the damage to which our commerce is exposed in consequence, we did not attempt to explain how this sudden change, which has come over the spirit of our dream during the last year and a half, has been brought about. If our readers will turn to the next page and read the article entitled "The Present Phase of American Commerce," they will have some material for at least making a guess upon the subject.

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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT. WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW-YORK SATURDAY, AUGUST 18, 1860.

...REVER IN ENGLAND.

Widely read by the London Emancipation Committee.

Great Public Meeting on the First of August.

By the steamer Persia, which arrived at this port on Tuesday morning, we have intelligence that will scarcely fail to fill the heart of every true friend of the slave in the United States; intelligence, namely, of Dr. Cheever's safe arrival in England, of the prompt and hearty welcome extended to him by the London Emancipation Committee and other devoted and distinguished friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, and of his participation in the public observance of the Twenty-sixth Anniversary of West India Emancipation at Spafields Chapel in London. The space at our disposal this week is so limited that we must forbear comment to make room for as much as possible of the report so promptly furnished us by our attentive friends on the other side of the water. The full report, however, of the great meeting at Spafields Chapel, embracing the admirable speech of Dr. Cheever, we must postpone till next week. The following letter from the Hon. Secretary of the London Emancipation Committee, embracing a summary of all that had transpired in reference to Dr. Cheever's arrival and the welcome extended to him, will be eagerly read.

LETTER FROM F. W. CHESSON, ESQ.

34 Kennington Crescent, Kennington Road, }
2d August, 1860. }

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

DEAR SIR: You can imagine more easily than I can describe the pleasure with which we received your announcement of Dr. Cheever's intended visit to this country. But it would be still more difficult either to imagine or to describe the gratification with which we welcomed that distinguished man in *propria persona*, and this feeling was increased by the happy coincidence of the Doctor's arrival taking place simultaneously with the holding of our First of August meeting. In anticipation that he would arrive in time to take part with us in commemorating the most memorable event in the history of the British name in the public press, and placarded it on the walls of London as the chief speaker at our meeting. Fortune, in our case, did not prove to be a fickle goddess; she smiled favorably upon us—for Dr. Cheever arrived in London several days before his services were required. Now, to make my story brief, let me come to the last of August itself.

On the afternoon of that day, before holding their public meeting, the London Emancipation Committee presented an address to Dr. Cheever at the residence of their Treasurer, Mr. Dennis McDonnell. There were present not only the members of the Committee, but many clergymen and ministers of influence—men whose presence must have been peculiarly gratifying to Dr. Cheever. I may, with perfect modesty, speak of the address as a noble document, seeing that I had no hand in its preparation, and that it was the sole work of Mr. George Thompson, on whose part you may be sure it was a labor of love. I forward you a copy of the address post, and you will judge whether it does not contain all that you could even desire the heart of the British nation to express. It would, perhaps, be difficult to conceive of a more interesting scene than that which took place when the address was presented to Dr. Cheever. There was something so touching in the words which Mr. Thompson addressed to the Doctor, while that gentleman's reply was so hearty and unaffected, that every one felt moved by a sympathetic feeling stronger than that which finds vent in boisterous applause.

But now let me make a remark or two on the public meeting. Under any circumstances, and at any period of the year, it would have been a great meeting, but held in the month of August it was a triumphant one. Sir Morton Peto would have presided had not unavoidable circumstances prevented his attendance, but he has promised to preside next year. In his absence who could be so suitable a chairman as Mr. Thoresby, the minister of Spafields Chapel—the noble building which was placed at our disposal without the slightest charge, and which is cordiality which showed how thoroughly the minister and his deacons sympathized with the objects of the meeting. Would that this good example were more widely followed! If we had had months in which to prepare for Dr. Cheever's reception it is doubtful whether we could have made the meeting render him more honor than it did. The hearty and comprehensive resolution thanking Dr. Cheever for his labors in the anti-slavery cause, while endorsing the position which he has taken up in the United States, and expressing a desire that his efforts to communicate information in this country on the relations of the American Churches with slavery might be attended with the most signal success, was one which we were moved by a more appropriate person than the Rev. George Smith, the secretary of the Congregational Union of England and Wales—a man who is the most representative of his country of that religious body with which Dr. Cheever is so distinguished an ornament in America. The resolution was seconded by the Rev. John Stoughton of Kensington, who is well known and exercises great influence as the editor of *The Evangelical Magazine*. The Rev. John Campbell, editor of *The British Banner*, also supported the resolution in a speech which rose to one of his true predecessors was pervaded by a most admirable spirit. Dr. Cheever, who, on rising, was greeted with a tempest of applause, was the next speaker. I will not, because I cannot, attempt a description of his speech. It has rarely, if ever, been surpassed in the vigor of its language, the power and brilliancy of its similes, and the terrible grandeur of its denunciations of slavery and the pro-slavery Churches of America. Every one must have felt that Dr. Cheever's speech would produce a most lasting impression upon the audience which listened to it, and which

punishment was very trifling, and the condition of the victims was most deplorable. Some were One beaten, they were allowed to go on Pass [illegible] though they were left penniless."

Blunt and McKinney belong to the sect known as Disciples, or Campbellites, distinguished, wherever known, for hostility to abolitionism. Both of them are certified as members of the party calling itself Democratic. If they have not resigned themselves for their crimes [illegible] Texas by calling up an insurrection, the expulsion from [illegible] is not improbable. *The Home*, abolitionists are certainly [illegible] talks more sensibly than some of the Abolitionists. It says:

"By many these outrages are attributed to the fanaticism of Northern abolitionists; but the true friends of the Union will doubtless be found in the whirling an elder by preaching some words of wisdom. One sound independent sermon made use of on a Sunday, the late outrages are the result of the wrong use of the old man's friends. Whatever is wrong, whether it be slavery that any little man, not actuated by a more active motive than mere, though mistaken, philanthropy, could not forget the dictates of humanity as to be willing to unloose those bloodhounds in search of the unbridled passions of negroes would doubtless make them—upon almost defenceless women and children. We have a little better opinion of human nature than a very great many at best, than for a moment to suppose that the suspicions excited of abolition incendiarism can be well founded in fact. At least, we trust they have been greatly exaggerated, both in detail and cause for general alarm."

Our European Correspondence.

LETTER FROM HARRIET MARTINEAU. XXXVII.

JULY 30, 1860.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard :

SIR: I have just been reading Mr. Everett's Oration of the Fourth of July. Really, I don't know which of us, you or I, has most reason to be ashamed of our respective statesmen, in their comments on American affairs. If I remember right, I observed to you at the time how absurd it appeared that Lord Derby should attribute the evils of your present condition to the democratic principle in its natural action; whereas those evils plainly arise from the encroachments of the aristocratic principle as wielded by the Slave Power. We did not suppose that Mr. Everett would take up so thin a pretence as this for defence against Lord Grey's gross and prejudiced statement, but it was hardly conceivable that even he should speak on the subject without once referring, in the remotest way, to slavery as the one great source of your political and moral misadventures. What an illustration of the political function is this—two statesmen as they consider themselves speaking on opposite sides on the merits and fortunes of your polity, and omitting all mention of slavery. One might as well write an account of the first French Empire and omit the Bonapartes. In Mr. Everett's oration, as in too many other speeches, and too much of the conversation of Americans in England, there is a tacit assertion of the old basis of your polity, at first avowed and implicit—the ethical basis. The fathers of the republic had no other idea of their project than that of providing for the people being good, and the state honored by the reputation of the nation, because upright in character. The creeping corruption of slavery has changed all that. Except from Abolitionists, we really now hear of nothing but what the citizens call your "greatness"—your numbers, your broad areas, your mechanical inventions, your commercial enterprise; your material acquisitions, in short, and the qualities that have obtained them. If your truest friends speak a word of mourning over the moral decline which is evident in the whole conduct of the public affairs and private social life of the United States, they are met by, not denial, for denial would be useless in face of the facts, but by levity and carelessness as to such considerations, and a recurrence to the boast of material progress. We hear grand accounts of the might of the nation, a century or two hence—of the ground it will cover, and the wealth and fame it will dazzle the world with; but not for a moment will the "patriot" pause to consider what will happen if corruption continues in high places, and the slave trade is carried on in a smuggling way from your ports, and obscure and unworthy men, tools of faction, are preferred to the worthy as managers of your public affairs; and commercial honor and liberty are thrown under the feet of the slaveholder; and moral independence dies out in individuals; and the law ceases to be sacred and revered because law-makers are tools, and lawadministrators are tools, and the popular passions themselves are made tools of by inflaming men, themselves the tools of an oppressive oligarchy! Political and social morality are not in such a state in any slaveholding country as to warrant expectations of any sort of future greatness till the curse is got rid of; and it there is one nation rather than another which is surely doomed to decline, while preferring an immoral to a moral course, it is the American, because its republican institutions were founded on an ethical basis. There is still room for hope that the country will retrieve itself; and you who are striving to work out that retrieval must be strong in that hope, or you could not work as you do; but it is certain, and it should never be forgotten by patriots, whether orators, travellers or others, that retrieval is the thing wanted, and that there is much to do before the American people can look for that respect and sympathy which the world which they used to enjoy, on account of the moral attributes of their original polity.

I do not suppose that you will agree, any more than I do, in Mr. Everett's objections to the discussion in Parliament of the effects of any political institutions anywhere exemplified. As for such discussions causing resentment, that would merely show a unsapprehension of the case, and weakness of temper in the offended party. It is inconceivable that any Englishman could be offended if American Senators had occasion to resist the proposal of a new slave State, which they considered to be mischievous, and should show it to be so by English examples. No exposure of fault and misfortune in our conduct and condition would make anybody here uncomfortable for a moment, if it was done in the transaction of business, as it were—in discussing new laws or arrangements. Lord Grey was, no doubt, perfectly justified in offering the fullest description of the working of universal suffrage in any part of the world; and we only hope the time will come when some such discussions will be handled from legislatures, and committed to newspapers alone, for fear of recrimination in Parliament. The more notion is, in fact, absurd. That Lord Grey took a manifestly wrong view of the cause of the mischief is another matter. It is one, too, in which Mr. Everett does not set him right. Instead of showing how unquestionable evils have arisen, and how they may be mended, he first complains of the exposure, and then meets charges of corruption and lawlessness with boasts of schools, charities, steam and electricity.

There are many of us now who would be heartily thankful to any foreign statesman who would effectually expose, in the line of his own duty with more correctness than Lord Grey attained, our present threatening reactionary state. We shall retrieve ourselves, no doubt; but the present session of Parliament has shown us what vigilance is required to keep us from being thrown back in our career by the encroachments of the House of Lords. I will not occupy your time with a story which may be read in all our newspapers: but, in commenting on the signs of the times, in regard to freedom in all countries, it is necessary to point to the fact that England has a bad House of Commons at present—a reactionary one formed to support Lord Derby's late Ministry, and in its liberal elements utterly disorganized. It cannot get its business done—and it needs be, for it spends its business time in watching by the people, that the worse elements may not overpower the better in the interval till we can get a more representation. We must have a better House of Commons as soon as may be, in order to obtain from it that reform of Parliament, and extension of the suffrage which has been promised, and will be effectually demanded. In other ways our condition is good. I do not mean as to prosperity, for we have great doubts of the goodness of the harvest, but in regard to our public duty. The energy and self-sacrifice shown by all classes in preparing for the defence of the country become more striking as time goes on, and the volunteer movement extends from class to class throughout the kingdom. There are more reasons than might be supposed at a distance for our preparations; not only an unaccountable and menacing increase of the French navy (far beyond all defensive purposes), but the tricks of French vessels, observed to steal in and take soundings in our harbors in dark nights—the visits of French visitors, whose health requires pure air on our south coast, in winter as well as summer, and who carry away sketches and minute surveys of the coast—tricks of all imperial agents everywhere, whose function is to spy on the one hand and make mischief on the other. *The Times* our for a successful attack is past. We are prepar[illegible] ing the most needful fortifications, while resisting w[illegible]aste on any that are not essential: and our highest kind of defence, the vital force of our national mi[illegible]hood, which no foreign ability from day to day [illegible]im, grows in extent and a Yorkshire manufa[illegible]d left yesterday from your cause in the [illegible]ourer (one of the best friends of country), who has organized a corps works—w[illegible] in his own village—75 from his em[illegible]o are now as qualified as ready to meet any [illegible] may dare to set foot on our coast.

On the whole, the interests of liberty seem to be doing well. The best of it is that the good is wrought out by the evil deeds and intentions of the common enemy of Europe. It may be doubted whether any power short of a Bonaparte on the French throne could have rallied the various nations to their best interests in so short a time. He threatened us; and we have a public spirit, and a glow at the national heart, such as have not been experienced for two generations. He threatened Germany; and Russia takes a long stride forward in popular freedom; even Austria has to adopt constitutional ways: and Germany is more likely to be united than ever before. He threatened Belgium; and the consequence is that splendid popular manifesto which you must have seen—the address to the King on the thirtieth anniversary of his reign. The disturber is baffled whichever way he turns. This is well; but his power of disturbance is great; and he has still too much control over Piedmont, Rome and from the exhaustion of Russia the Czar. The latest apprehension is of the long-dreaded war in the Levant. His object is not German war, and ever since (and for some time before) was to prepare for such an acquisition, in Egypt, Syria, Arabia, etc., of eastern territory as might enable him to stop our passage to India. Hence that great swindling enterprise, the Suez Canal; hence his obstruction of our telegraph route through Euphrates route; hence the incessant trouble about "the holy places," between him or the Czar; hence the ever-renewed disturbances in the Lebanon, where French agents are always agitating among the turbulent tribes, and French Consuls forever reporting dangers, and calling for French soldiers. Hence, too, the insulting assumption, this last week, of the whole work of pacifying and punishing in Syria, to the Sultan's dominions. We trust he is foiled here also, by the protest of the Sultan, who has no mind to expose his towns and provinces to French occupation, which is so like the cuckoo's egg—easy to lodge, but most difficult to dislodge. The strife in the Lebanon was certainly begun by the Christians (the odd sort of Christians who live there). How they were incited to attack their neighbors we shall perhaps soon know from the evidence [illegible] all the world has a pretty good guess. I need not tell you, as American ships are on that coast, what has been done to stop the slave trade. What is done, the next inquiry will be what influence began it. All this time the French funds go down at the mention of every new disturbance. The wish of the French nation is clearly for peace; and nothing short of ruin must follow upon war. This is a ground of hope that the disturber must soon be quiet or fall. As we anticipated, our Irish fellow-citizens have discovered their mistake in going to fight against Italian liberty. The foolish fellows are thronging back—such of them as can get home; but some are shot for rebellion, some are sent to die in the deadly marshes of the Romagna; and not a few, we are told, are toiling in Algeria, whence their lot must be much like that of slaves. The most fortunate have returned famished, half-naked and full of wrath on behalf of the wretched subjects of the Pope, and against the lying and selfish priests who induced them to go. Very many, of admiration of British government, and thankfulness for the blessings of life in free Ireland. We knew that something of this sort must happen; but it is a more speedy and frank conversion than we expected. The priests and other agitators have gone too fast; and they will hardly make any more Irish rebellions. The country is too prosperous now to support rebellion; and it would be difficult to improve upon the English liberty which the Irish have got.

The Prince of Wales will soon be among you. I need hardly offer the word of warning which yet it may be as well to utter—that all gossiping stories about his love affairs, or any other pranks, some of which have appeared in American newspapers, are altogether false. It is a prejudice any Englishman stoops to write such unworthy nonsense to your journals. The Prince is only eighteen, and has been most carefully guarded and accompanied; and his relaxations from his studies and the really serious objects of his life, have been healthful field sports, and worthy manly pleasures. Other families and individuals can defend their reputation. Royal families and young princes cannot; and every fair-minded person is indignant accordingly when they are libelled. Such fictions as have been sent to your newspapers show a vulgarity of ideas and temper which will be sure to put all sensible readers on their guard against believing them. They are as characteristic of their view of manners as your Southern Senator's idea of how our "aristocracy" manage their "backdoors."

You will have seen how Lord Brougham offended Mr. Dallas by calling his attention to the fact that a negro gentleman was a member of the Statistical Congress, just held in London. The proceeding, and the manner of it, were not altogether hospitable and courteous; and thus Mr. Dallas would have had the advantage, if he had had the sense to take that matter good-humoredly; but he foolishly took offence; and Lord Brougham's mode of apology could not but aggravate his humiliation. It was a fine occasion for presence of mind, good sense and good-breeding; but Mr. Dallas was not adequate to it. Some day you will send us an ambassador who is of our (and your) way of thinking about rating men according to a better test than their complexion. You see that the case of Mrs. Putnam and Miss Martineau was referred to in parliament; but we can do nothing with Cunard vessels till your public opinion is in a better condition. The remedy lies on your side the water.

H. M.

THE LONDON ANTI-SLAVERY ADVOCATE.

The August number of this invaluable periodical has just come to hand. The contents seem to us admirably adapted to enlighten the people of Great Britain in respect to the vital aspects of the slavery question in the United States, and to show them how they can most effectually aid in the work of abolition. The amount of good already achieved by means of this little paper, in making the earnest Abolitionists on opposite sides of the Atlantic acquainted with each other's plans, hopes, discouragements and trials, and thus bringing them into closer co-operation, is beyond every calculation; while the prospect of still greater usefulness in time to come is such as may well cheer the heart of the devoted editor and his associates.

Dr. Cheever's Visit to Great Britain" is the leading topic in this number. The subject is introduced by a letter from Mr. F. W. Cassson, Hon. Secretary of the London Emancipation Committee, from which we copy as follows:

"The London Emancipation Committee, on whose behalf I write, are preparing to accord to him a most cordial welcome; one in some measure worthy of this great champion of freedom, and of a man who has been so cruelly assailed no less by the slave's hypocritical friends than by his open enemies. Dr. Cheever will, I hope, be the principal speaker at our First of August meeting, which will this year be held within the spacious walls of Spafields Chapel. What the length of his stay in Great Britain may be, and what his plans and intentions while here, I cannot, of course, at this moment be positively known; but I would respectfully urge upon our friends throughout the three kingdoms to co-operate, for the purpose of making Dr. Cheever's visit to this country the means of exposing the anti-slavery cause, especially among those bodies which, owing to the sinister influences exercised by pro-slavery and half-hearted professors, are in the greatest need of the Atlantic's enlightenment which Dr. Cheever is preeminently qualified to bestow. At a time when emissaries like Dr. Lord and Dr. Fairbairn and Dr. Burrowes are freely admitted into Nonconformist pulpits—when the calumnies of *The New York Observer*, and of its more mischievous, because even less honest, contemporary, *The New York Independent*, are accepted as absolute truths, and when the Colonial Missionary Society upholds a negro pew in one of its chapels, and even rebukes the negro pew owner who protested against the iniquity, there is indeed a paramount necessity for such a voice as Dr. Cheever can raise, and such a testimony as he can deliver."

Mr. Cheever then communicates an extract of a private letter received by himself from the editor of this paper, explaining the purposes of Dr. Cheever's visit, and commending him to the sympathy and co-operation of the Abolitionists of Great Britain. This is followed by an editorial article, on the same subject, from which we copy the following: "We are glad to copied from THE STANDARD of July 7th. We are glad that Dr. Cheever was thus cordially introduced to the friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society in Great Britain.

The next article is a letter from Mr. CHARLES K WHIPPLE, of Boston, exhibiting the pro-slavery character and antecedents of Rev. Dr. Gardner Spring, of this city, of whom it had been rumored that he was likely to visit Great Britain during the present month (although the rumor turns out to have been incorrect). This notice is not long enough to be by any means untimely or useless.

Next comes a letter from Count A. HORNER, Secretary to the Wakefield Anti-Slavery Association, to the Earl of Shaftesbury, remonstrating with his lordship in view of his "partial promise" (in a speech before the British Bible Society in May last) "to visit the United States at some future time for the purpose of presiding at a meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society." Mr. Horner shows his lordship, by the publication of indisputable facts, that the American Bible Society is, practically, a pro-slavery institution, and therefore that he ought not to lend it his sanction. We trust the warning may be effectual.

The Independent's abuse of Mr. Chamerovzow, the Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, for his exposure of that clerical "wolf in sheep's clothing," the Rev. Mr. Murray, of Elizabethtown, N. J. (now or lately travelling in Great Britain), is noticed in fitting terms. The editor says:

"As to Mr. Chamerovzow not being a gentleman—the peculiar American pro-slavery sense we engraft [illegible] him—he does not belong to the class of limited [illegible] of Englishmen. We have heard an anecdote of one like Prime and Murray, who declared that during the whole of his visit to the country he had only met with "two gentlemen"; and when asked for his list, declared that these two said nothing to him about slavery. It is much to the credit of Mr. Chamerovzow's anti-slavery efficiency that he has generally been found out by the slavery American visitors. Let him continue to make use of his opportunities to expose the pretensions of a class of men who live by preying upon the ignorance they lend as self-styled Christian pastors to the greatest of crimes, are a disgrace to true religion, the worst enemies of mankind, and the bloodiest tyrants."

We will not notice the contents of this number more particularly, except to remark that we find among them the "Appeal in behalf of the Twenty-seventh National Anti-Slavery Anniversary, to be held in London in January next, and also the "Appeal of the Managers of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Fair and National Bazaar, to their coadjutors in Great Britain and Ireland."

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY ANNIVERSARY.

WHEN the claim for Universal Liberty was first made in our country, the best part of a lifetime ago, the work lay wholly in futurity. The idea and the principles of Human Rights were to be repeated, the justice and necessity of their cause as against slavery to be proved, the prevailing apathy to be broken, the public mind to be awakened and enkindled, the insufficiency of a Church and State controlled by slavery to compass freedom to be demonstrated, the retrogression of the land towards barbarism under their sway to be made manifest, and freedom of speech, of the press, and of a free specific association to be claimed and exercised as the only sufficient instrumentalities of reform.

This is the initiatory work that has been done, and by it, abundant opportunities of direct action have been rendered practicable. The work itself, in a thousand shapes, now lies before us, whose privilege it has been to make ready for it. The despotism is driven into open day. To meet it, requires devotion, industry and the sacrifice of a true enthusiasm. It requires energy, co-operation and the discipline of self-control. It requires generous contributions of money. We trust that all these indispensable requisites are now, as ever, ready.

We earnestly and cordially entreat all who love our native land in sincerity, whether Europeans or Americans, to unite with us more numerously and more generously than ever to meet the demands of a period of crisis unparalleled in the history of our country—now, indeed, in the history of the world. For what before has it ever happened that Freedom has been sought from among a dominant people for a down-trodden one, on so grand a scale as this? We ask aid of Europeans, while we bid them observe that their freedom makes progress only in exact proportion as our slavery is brought into discredit. We ask aid of Americans: for where is the American to whom this cause of ours is not the supreme interest of the present hour, affecting the only hope of Futurity? The work before us is over that primary one contemplated by no other existing body, political or religious; the work that Church and Government are always tempted by the necessities of their position as such to neglect, adjourn, suppress. And the stronger the desire of their members to promote the cause, the stronger the temptation, being so placed, to temporize and to compromise.

To all these we confidently look for aid in the work they can neither do, nor do without.

We cordially invite all who love Liberty the world over, to meet us at the Music Hall, Boston, in the month of January next, in person or by letter, uniting their sympathies and contributions with ours in the great work of the time—the peaceful extinction of American slavery.

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN,	LYDIA D. PARKER,
MARY MAY,	ELIZA F. EDDY,
LYDIA LORING,	SARAH P. REMOND,
L. MARIA CHILD,	ABBY FRANCIS,
HENRIETTA SARGENT,	SARAH RUSSELL MAY,
ANNE WARREN WESTON,	ABBY KELLEY FOSTER,
MARY GRAY CHAPMAN,	SARAH H. SOUTHWICK,
HELEN ELIZA GARRISON,	EVALINA A. S. SMITH,
SARAH SHAW RUSSELL,	SARAH (SALLIE) HOLLEY,
FRANCES MARIA ROBBINS,	ANN REBECCA HEMMALL,
CAROLINE WESTON,	AUGUSTA WARD KING,
MARY WILLEY,	ELIZABETH VON ARNIM,
SARAH BLAKE SHAW,	ANNA SHAW GREENE,
SUSAN C. CABOT,	ELIZA APTHORP,
SARAH P. ATKINSON,	MARY ELIZABETH SARGENT,
ELIZA ANDREW,	MATTIE GRIFFITH,
	ANNE LAUDON ALGER.

MARY E. STEARNS.

LIFE IN KANSAS.

KIDNAPPERS AT THEIR HELLISH WORK.

LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS, July 26, 1860.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

KANSAS is not yet free. Six years of strife with the slave oligarchy of the country has failed to redeem our soil from the curse of slavery, or awaken our people to a consciousness of the value thereof.

Kidnappers abound in our midst, organized into bands for the purpose of operating in concert for a hunt upon the prairies for the unfortunate children of Africa. Several cases have occurred of late in our Territory. Persons have been kidnapped at night, right from the heart of the city, which prides itself upon being the metropolis of Kansas, carried over into Missouri, and sold to go down the river, or imprisoned in jails. And yet these things fail to arouse the people to take any interest in the matter. Each one, as it occurs, furnishes an item for the local columns of the daily papers, which are glanced at by their subscribers, and soon forgotten. No effort is made to redeem, from the fate which awaits them, these unfortunate victims. And they are sold into the Southern market, where a life-long slavery awaits them.

A few days since, three or four villains stopped at the house of a half-breed Indian, with negro blood in his veins, and solicited entertainment for the night, which was readily granted. They partook of the evening meal, and, after the most of the family had retired, one of the kidnappers approached a young man in the room, struck him over the head with a club, tied his feet and hands, put a gag in his mouth, threw him into a wagon, and drove off towards Missouri. By the timber on the river they overpowered themselves, and seized their victim, for the remainder of that night and the next day; and then, after severely beating the young man and shaving his head, they took him to the prison at St. Joseph, intending to keep him there until a favorable opportunity should be afforded to send him down the river to New Orleans.

While there, another party of the gang arrived at the same jail with two young men they had kidnapped from this city only a few nights before. The band held a consultation, and decided that it would not do to retain the Indian; he was too nearly white, and might get them into serious difficulty by exposing their business. They concluded to release him, and the young Delaware Indian was permitted to return to his home, weak from the loss of blood and his many wounds.

The other two are still in jail at St. Joseph. Efforts are being made to secure their release from their impending fate; with what success cannot be anticipated.

An attempt was made, a few nights since, to kidnap a woman from the city of Lawrence. She raised an alarm, the citizens were aroused, and the kidnappers fled. They succeeded in effecting their escape, however.

Two young men were met on a street in the outskirts of town, a few nights since, by a party of ruffians armed into a wagon, and taken to the timber, a few miles from the city, and severely whipped, to make them tell what the Abolitionists in and about Lawrence were doing. After the whipping they were released, not saying nothing from them in reference to what was going on at Lawrence, they were released and permitted to return to their homes.

This Territory is the uncertain habitation of several colored persons, known as the "Exiles of Arkansas;" these negroes, driven from Arkansas and the country to seek an asylum, place among us. They have settled in several portions of Kansas, are intelligent and industrious. Since their arrival, several attempts have been made to kidnap them, and very often with success.

I have seen several of these unfortunate exiles, and find them to differ from the fugitive slaves among us in a very important particular. They are not disposed to defend themselves from assault; in other words, they are afraid to fight, and kidnapper and his party manage to capture them. How true it is that emancipation makes "free niggers," while revolution makes free men!

An ugly-looking individual was pointed out to me not long since, said to be a noted kidnapper. Short, thickset, slow in his motions, with a face showing him a villain as cold, cruel, crafty, calculating and malignant as Jeffries, and the line of his whole countenance and expression of pitiless indifference, while every lineament of his dirty countenance bore the impress of infamy in unmistakable characters; and in the glare of his small, stony eyes, closely set under heavy, rugged, overhanging brows, in the shadow of a thick mass of matted hair, parricide and assassination look out with a cold, pauseless stare.

This human monstrosity disgusts us with humanity; saying in a torpid state, but ready at all times to fasten his poisoned fangs upon his victim and distil his venom into his soul; crushing out all divine emotion, high aspiration and hope, and converting the man into a stupid, passive article of merchandize, doomed to a life-long slavery, which is death in its worst form.

Yet, odious and infamous as this creature appears, so offensive to the imagination, embodying in his nature nothing but evil, excelling in brutality Caliban, so vividly portrayed by Shakspeare, it is with shame and the greatest humiliation we are compelled to acknowledge him a fit representative of American institutions; for such a man is a kidnapper, sustained in his crime by the laws and public sentiment of the slave, and indorsed by the apathy and indifference of the free States.

Oh! for some one to take the responsibility—a John Brown, a Garibaldi, to march through the States where such crimes exist, with a bold and fearless tread, flashing his earnest protest against this great wrong, with the swiftness of an electric spark, from one end of the continent to the other, and arousing the people for the destruction of an institution that breeds such men and produces such an accumulation of crime and misery in our country, and restoring the victims of slavery to the full enjoyment of liberty and life.

It is humiliating to think that the deeds and cruelty of these kidnappers are not only found recorded upon the black records of hell, but upon the page of history, transmitting to future generations of men the damning shame and cowardice of the present day in allowing such proceedings to transpire among us.

F.

SPEECH OF WILLIAM NTILL,

At the Celebration of the Anniversary of W. I. Emancipation, at Kennett Square, Pa., Aug. 4th, 1860.

[We give place to this address on account of the excellent and timely advice given thereto the People of Color by one of their own class, whose intelligence and moral worth entitle him to a candid hearing.—ED. STANDARD.]

CALLED, as this meeting has been, to celebrate the anniversary of emancipation in the West Indies, I feel that the opportunity is a fitting one for us to consider our own oppression and grievances; for us to do something more than to call to remembrance the wrongs endured by the oppressed under British tyranny: something more than to dwell on the labors of those faithful philanthropists who have instrumentally been the means of the happy result. Of course, I am highly in favor of celebrating the 1st of August; of exposing slavery in its most revolting aspects, as it existed under British authority; also of giving due praise to the noble hearted philanthropists who labored, in the face of so much odium and opposition, to bring about the downfall of the horrid system. Nevertheless, while I feel that justice should be done in this direction, I also feel fully convinced that we should take especial advantage of the occasion to strike a blow for our own rights; to recount our own wrongs; to bring to our minds our duties and wants—especially to remember those in bonds as bound with them; and if possible to devise some plan by which we can more successfully bring about practical cooperation among ourselves, against every phase of oppression.

Especially in Pennsylvania do we need to have our eyes open to behold the great wrongs we are labouring under, and to be prepared to make good use of such opportunities as may be in our reach to help hasten our elevation.

In Pennsylvania, at this very juncture, reasons are as obvious as truth can possibly make them, why the colored people of this above almost any other State should be actively engaged in movements tending to promote their rights and interests. I will name a few of the reasons thus alluded to.

1. Because we number a larger free proscribed population than any other Northern State.

2. Because we are bordered by three slaveholding States, where prejudice is engendered against us, and are liable to frequent occurrences of kidnapping and continual outrages from the slave-hunter under the operation of the infamous Fugitive Slave law.

3. Because, in such close proximity to slavery, our movements and actions are daily watched by all classes, especially by the great body of whites, who adhere to pro-slavery sentiments, or who take no active part in our behalf. Hence, in assuming an earnest, resolute and practical ground in favor of freedom, we could not fail to strike most effective blows against oppression.

4. Because it is evident that not unfrequent visits are made to this State, from the bordering slave States, by slaveholders, *expressly* to view our condition: some with a partial and some with a positive desire to emancipate their slaves, and settle them on free soil among us. Of course our bearing and attitude weigh either favorably or unfavorably. If seen manfully engaged in important movements to raise ourselves and to redeem our brethren from bondage, some could doubtless be telling effect our actions would have in this direction. Again, it is a fact equally important to consider, that within the last few years, under the increasing barbarous enactments in the South, not a few of our brethren, nominally free, have been either summarily expelled from their homes, or admonished that they could only remain with safety the faintest hope of retaining but a few of the poor privileges that had hitherto been allowed them. Hence this class, too, from time to time, come among us, to see our condition, hoping to find sympathy and encouragement to cast in their lot with us; consequently, in this respect, as in the instance just alluded to, our actions speak louder than our words. The man who values his freedom—who cannot be content to be merely the hewer of wood and the drawer of water—who will not be kept down by ignorance, however hard he may have to struggle against difficulties to acquire knowledge—who gle against difficulties to acquire knowledge—who gle against difficulties to acquire knowledge—who gle against a life of sobriety and industry rather than intemperance and idleness, is, unquestionably of the only class among us to make a favorable impression upon the minds of these deeply outraged visitors or exiles. I fear we are too apt to overlook our responsibility in this respect.

5. Because we can do for ourselves what nobody else can do for us. The hundreds of heroic fugitives who have thrown off their yokes, passing through indescribable perils and hardships on their way to Canada, seem to cry aloud in our ears—"Hereditary bondmen: know ye not who would be free themselves must strike the blow!"

Thus viewing our chances for rendering vital service to our cause, I ask, does not common sense dictate that we should be intensely in earnest in the great work of abolition? Does not common sense indicate, that we are directly on the ground, notwithstanding prejudice, etc., where we could do, by word and by deed, more than all the free colored people of no other State could possibly do to weaken slavery?

For instance, being deprived of the right of suffrage (we would hinder us from pressing our claims with earnestness through petitions, memorials, etc.? In the very effort to procure signatures, with suitable documents to distribute, how successfully we might advance our cause in various ways. How many minds we could interest who otherwise would remain indifferent!

Through the avenues of our numerous societies and churches, situated as we are among the whites, with diligence, without much sacrifice of time, etc.? In the very effort to procure signatures, with suitable documents to distribute, how successfully we might advance our cause in various ways. How many minds we could interest who otherwise would remain indifferent!

Through the avenues of our numerous societies and churches, situated as we are among the whites, with diligence, without much sacrifice of time, etc.? In the [illegible] would seem that we could easily reach hundreds of thousands of citizens annually with our petitions for the right of suffrage. Also, by proper management, doubtless, were we to appoint a delegation of respectable and intelligent colored men to bear our memorials and petitions to Harrisburg, a respectful hearing would be granted them by the Executive and House of Representatives, despite the present prescription. Also, much information such as we could and should furnish, pleas and appeals earnestly made by ourselves, I feel confident would be seriously considered and effectively used for our benefit. For want of such information, these friendly to us in legislative halls, editorial chairs and places of power, on hearing us grossly slandered by the opposite party, often feel compelled to remain silent and hence we have to suffer daily from many prejudicial charges and imputations, when we have it in our power to remedy these things, to some extent at least.

But, with regard to the momentous question of our liberty, what attitude do we occupy? What influence are we exerting? Unfortunate as our condition is, we have a history, or at least, should have one. We are not all ignorant, degraded people. There is a class among us; some who have acquired learning, some who are farmers, mechanics or artisans, and many who are industrious, sober and upright, although in the humbler walks of life; in all we number about 74,000 inhabitants in Pennsylvania.

Now, I wish to inquire what we are doing to remove our disabilities. All of us have need to understand precisely our position in this respect.

1. Have the seventy thousand colored people of Pennsylvania a common fund for special emergencies, or to promote their general welfare? It cannot be said that they have.

2. Have we any Board, Committee or other organization, having the improvement of our people at heart, to which it can be said that we have any such instrumentalities, unless we except a few literary societies, designed mainly for local improvement, which deserve credit. An organization, composed of honest, intelligent, working men, could unquestionably accomplish a vast amount of service, by devising ways and means for our improvement: and by enlightening the public in directions where light is much needed.

3. Have we as a people, published any pamphlets, books or documents, in defence of our rights, for distribution? Do we avail ourselves of the columns of newspapers, on every occasion when opportunity offers, to put in our plea for justice, our protest against oppression? In these respects, I fear our shortcomings have been very great. Doubt or dispute the assertion as we may, with regard to the press of this State, marked changes have been wrought by anti-slavery efforts; and although most of the papers of the day are timid or reluctant to espouse a cause likely to bring little profit and so much odium as ours, yet I firmly believe that we might find a respectful hearing, occasionally, at least, in many respectable papers of this State, if we would only earnestly press our suit. In many cases where we are deprived of our rights, it is more than probable that we could secure them if we would only connect for them earnestly. We need to give proof continually that we are sensible of the wrong done us, and that we will not be satisfied until, in common with others, we get justice.

4. Have we given a hearty support to the anti-slavery cause? Do we take anti-slavery papers, and make ourselves acquainted with the great struggle going on in all parties in regard to slavery and our own liberties? Let us all think for a moment how much material aid we have deprived the cause. Even in cases of heavy rewards offered for the capture of fugitives, how many could be found—deprived of all rights, liable to all outrages. *In this condition*, what a solace it would be to us, longing to be free, to feel that there were those who could be identified with us by complexion and sufferings, so near to the locality where doing something practically for our deliverance aiding to break our fetters, to unloose our heavy burdens, and let us go free. But if, on the other hand, we saw thousands acting as though they had as many privileges as they cared to be troubled with, unconcerned about us, not giving a dollar a year to aid the good work of emancipation, why should feel discouraged and forsaken.

5. Have we any plans on foot for encouraging one another in agricultural or mechanical pursuits, or for bringing out native talent and genius, or improving the condition of the young? It appears not, I am sorry to say. As greatly as our cause needs action in this direction, as yet we are found without plans to effect anything in this respect.

By some who hear me I may be charged with looking too intently on the dark side of the picture; they may say it is not wise to dwell so largely on our inactivity. To portray our trials and the ill-usage we endure, would be better suited, they think, to the present occasion. While I may respect this view of the matter, I am far from assenting to it. Being found at a crisis like the present, with our liberties at stake, in a preeminent degree, the whole subject cannot be ignored, are we to refrain from self-examination? Should we not adopt at this time-honored motto: "Self-reliance is the sure road to independence"? Are we to wait for others to do for us what we could do for ourselves? Are we to suppose that our elevation will be achieved through the influence of the Abolitionists, while we ourselves are not laboring for the same great object? It is suicidal to our interest to neglect such a powerful agent.

The true friends of the slave may labor faithfully, and spend their money freely, to propagate anti-slavery doctrines; may aid thousands in their flight to Canada; defend the fugitive before the Courts, etc.; nevertheless, the important part of the work, so far as our elevation is concerned, I again repeat, *must be done by ourselves.*

The fugitive escaping directly from the prison-house, in making known his necessities, could not but awaken the deepest sympathy—to command aid and respect, when acting bravely to free himself. An instance occurred, not a great while since, on a certain U. G. R.—the exact locality of which I will not name—which clearly illustrates this point. A gentleman of high position, a publisher of an influential and popular journal, was in the habit of conveying men in carrying out the Fugitive Slave law, etc., having never been favored to see an "arrival" on the U. G. R. R. thought the sight would be a curiosity to him. Therefore, on solemnly promising that he would "keep dark," he was allowed to see an arrival of fifteen passengers, embracing men, women and children, all very likely looking, although they had passed through severe perils on the way. Here actions spoke with powerful effect. The gentleman's long cherished feelings of loyalty to the Fugitive Slave law and the pro-slavery idea of returning the bondman were not strong enough to resist the appeal of men and women thus heroically striving to be free! Without being asked, his own conscience voluntarily dictated that he should violate the Fugitive Slave law and help the weary fugitives on their way to Canada, and he put his hand in his pocket and aided them liberally. The struggle of the fugitive for freedom, before was what compelled this man to lend a helping hand; and it is always the case, where men are suffering and show a resolute spirit to get rid of their grievances, they will find ten to sympathize with them, where they might have looked in vain for one if acting as though they were satisfied with their lot. Men who are suffering greatly cannot act too earnestly in making their condition known—cannot place themselves in an attitude too much in earnest and thoroughly may be viewed—cannot be too eager to avail themselves of friendly aid when ever proffered.

Indeed this indomitable spirit succeeds every where; and nowhere could we see greater evidences of it than in the accomplished under its influence than by looking over the history of the fugitive slaves, for the last dozen years, scattered over the Northern States and Canada.

Where could we find among any class of poor people evidences of progress equal to that which has been made by many who escaped from slavery within the last twelve years? How many such have learned to read and write! How many, by industry, possessed themselves of property? How many entered into business as mechanics, merchants, etc.? The number of such is not small. Of course, I do not wish to make the impression that all the fugitives make such wonderful progress; many do not, yet the number succeeding, all things considered, is extraordinary.

In New Bedford, where many hundreds of fugitives have settled, and where, owing to the free atmosphere of the place, they feel perfectly safe, their condition is not only as good, pecuniarily, as the condition of the colored people of any other place I have seen; but most unless there is an advance; they own more real estate and appear more prosperous than at any other place I know. A stranger visiting the place, ignorant whence they came, would not for a moment entertain the idea that they had ever worn chains in the South. Almost every family owns a genteel house and lot, with nice furniture, handsome garden, etc., proving how admirably they are capable of taking care of themselves. None could witness the great improvement so soon made without the utmost astonishment. At least so I was, when I visited them one year ago. The residence to be somebody and have something is very general among the fugitives and colored people of New Bedford and Canada.

In conclusion, I wish to call your attention, briefly, to another consideration, deeply interesting to us all—indeed to the entire free colored people of the United States and Canada. I allude to the large sum, Three Hundred Thousand Dollars, left to promote the welfare of the colored man, by the late Rev. [illegible] Avery of Allegheny City, Pa., who died a little over two years ago. Under all our oppressions, hardships and wants in this country, but very few among the rich and great have remembered the colored man, in life and death, with any thing like Christian sympathy and Christian philanthropy as did the noble-hearted Avery.

Besides the endowment of a college (the Allegheny Institute), which, at his own expense, was built for the education of colored youth, [illegible] means were devoted unsparingly, [illegible] various ways too numerous to detail here, to advance the rights of the colored man, not only in this country but elsewhere. For, although he was an educated man, and knew the necessity for the removal of the colored man from the load of his nativity in order that he might have justice—indeed against this spirit of colonization he earnestly protested—yet he was disposed to remember Africa and the cause of civilization and Christianity especially. Hence, of the $300,000 he left to [illegible] of colored man, $150,000 was designed absolutely [illegible] to further civilization and Christianity in Africa. And the American Missionary Society, an anti-slavery organization existing in New York, was the appointed medium through which he designed that this latter sum should be appropriated. The remaining One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Dollars, intended for the free colored people in the North and Canada, was left to be appropriated by his Executors for the object named, without any specified channel or organization for its disbursement. How it may be used in order best to promote the general elevation of the free colored people, in accordance with the design of the testator, surely should interest us all. Being of the class to be benefited, and living in the State where this benefactor lived and died, and at the same time seeing our cause so greatly in need of aid, we should feel at least sufficient interest in the matter to thoroughly canvass and discuss the condition of our people throughout the entire North and Canada, either in Conventions or through the press, expressly for the purpose of satisfying ourselves as to the most propitious and feasible channels through which it could be used most effectively for the good of all. Doub

THE TIMES, MEASURES AND MEN.

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

The times demand new measures and new men:
The world advances, and in time outgrows
The best that serv'd our fathers' days were best;
And doubtless after us, some purer scheme
Will be shaped out by the growth of Truth.
We cannot bring Utopia at once;
But let us make sure of all we gain,
Thus in a finite machine, drowse and sleep.
So many hours into the world, whose work
Is not to be undone; there's no universe
And tools to work withal, for those who will;
And blessed are the busy hands of toil.
The time's worth serving, scornful youth, for
The man who stands with arms akimbo set,
Until occasion tell him what to do;
And he who waits to have his task marked out,
Shall die and leave his errand unfulfilled.
Our task is plain enough: all that we need
Is honest and earnest hearts, that will not rest
Unsatisfied, but seek with upright aims,
Each in his place and station, to discern
The main idea, the essential thing to do,
Then power to do it, and to do it well.
Leave all the rest to Time, which is but God
Working in leisure, and not vexed at all.
Of all the powers that influence the mind
Of man, the time-spirit is the strongest yet;
It is the age that shapes us, and we grow
Conformed to what requires us; each to each
A mirror, and reflecting back and forth
The same old image, common sense and wont.
Thus the dull course of ordinary life
Wears a huge semblance of eternity,
And each man deems his daily toil will last
Forever, and the morrow be to-day.
Yet all the while, the power that makes and rules
Our being, moves resistless and unseen,
Like subtle essences through solid stone,
Or the strong tides that draw the unwilling ships
Through a dead calm, and we know not we are moved.
Only sometimes, when the great mass stands
Balanced a moment ere it fall one way
Or other, for a day or for a year,
Or century, as the case may be, we feel
The subtle force that through the channels runs
Of habit, custom, fashion, use and wont,
Has suddenly turned the world to right or wrong.
Then comes the tug of war; then those who will
And those who cannot keep pace with Time
Are crushed or thrown aside, and new men come
To the front, and life goes bravely on again.
Such times are times of moment, and present
Duties of weight to brave and earnest souls.
Such times are ours, and we are such men.
Ours is a task to try the heart and brain
Of any man, and we are happy in it.
Ours is the problem how to build a State
Where Freedom shall be secure, and Law shall be
Strong, but not stronger than the people's will
That lends it power, and shall not overawe
Or curb the free thought and free life of man.
Ours is the problem how to make the best
Of Democracy, and guard it from the fate
That has befallen all republics of the past,
Which rose, grew great, grew rich, grew overgrown
With pride, and fell, because they ceased to be
Simple and honest and heroic any more.
Ours is the problem how to purify
Our politics, and make offices seek men
Instead of men seeking offices, and worse
Than offices, contracts, jobs and party strife
Which have disgraced the age with vulgar cares
And lowered the character of public life.
Ours is the problem how to spread education
Through all the masses, and secure to all
Their rights, and duties, and the growth of all.
Ours is the problem how to turn to use
The mighty forces of the time, and not
Be overwhelmed by them, how to employ
Wealth for the general good, and not for few,
How to make labor honorable, and how
To secure for honest work its honest pay.
Ours is the problem how to solve the great
Social question, how to bring back peace
Between the laborer and the capitalist,
And how to make the rich and poor live not
As foes, but friends, and how to stop the mouth
Of envy, discontent, and vague complaint.
Ours is the problem how to train the young
To honor, truth, and love, and how to raise
Above the tide of vice and ignorance
Those who are soon to be the men that rule.
Ours is the problem how to civilize
Our rulers, and to secure the rule of right
Over the wills of men, and how to make
Religion what it was meant to be, the life
Of the whole life, and how to spread abroad
Its influence, till it shall be felt in all
Our doings, and our inmost motives show
Its power to raise us above the worldly aims
And miserable passions that debase
Our natures, and drag down our souls to hell.
Ours is the problem how to make the law
Respected, how to punish crime, and how
To abolish punishment, how to reform
Criminals, and how to stop the source
Of crime in the brutalizing influence
Of bad example, and in those foul sores
Of society, the tenement houses of
Our towns, where the evil weeds of vice grow rank
And choke the life out of the helpless plants
That struggle for the light and air of heaven.
Ours is the problem how to keep the peace
Between the States, and how to heal the strife
That has divided us, and how to bring
Back the estranged sections, and how to make
Them love the Union, and how to show
That Union means more than common gain,
And is the source of blessings that outweigh
The value of all lives that may be lost
To keep it whole, and of all treasure spent
To make it strong, and of all hatred borne
To it by those who seek its overthrow.
Ours is the problem how to deal with those
Who have been slaves, and how to guard them from
The power of those who would fain keep them slaves,
And how to train them for the use of arms,
And how to lead them to the field of fight,
And how to use them when the fight is won.
Ours is the problem how to deal with those
Who have been masters, and how to break
Their power for mischief, and how to save
Them from the passions that will grind them down
To the last depth of degradation,
And how to lift them up to noble life
As fellow-citizens with equal rights.
Ours is the problem how to solve the great
Problem of human life, how to secure
Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness
To all men, and how to train all men
To be fit for life, liberty, and happiness.
Ours is the problem how to train the will
Of man to govern itself, and how to bring
Out of the darkness of the human heart
The light that shall illumine it, and how
To purify the souls of men, and how
To raise them from the death of sin to life
Eternal, and how to prepare them for
The judgment that shall fix their doom forever